SPEECH

## HON. JORDAN STOKES

DELLVERED AT THE CAPITOL IN MARK-

VILLE, ON THE POURTE OF JULY. (Congressor)

But to crown the stupendous fraud and wicked humbug, the leaders said it was a glorious war for Southern Independence. We all thought at one time that our independence had been declared on this hallowed day near a century ago; that its successful achievement had been admitted on the memorable field of Yorktown: that it had been secured and made perpetual in a written constitution and an indissoluble Union, and that we had re-scaled it with precious blood under the Old Hero of the Hermitage in a second war with England. When and where did the people of the South lose their independence? on what field was it cloven down? who was its conqueror and usurper? and when did the people come to a knowledge of their sad loss? Ah! these were words of delusion; hollow as sounding brass or a tinkling symbol; and alas! they have beguiled the people into the open jaws of a bloody and re-morseless despotism! Well may they cry out in deep bitteress of soul, give us that plain, old - fashioned, long-tried American Independence, with its noble edifice, resting upon the RIGHTS OF MAN as its foundation, its spacious halls and corridors vocal with the glad notes of free thought and free speech, its altars crowned with the offerings of free will votaries, its grand proportions and lefty domes filling the world with wonder and amazement, and its presiding genius looking with admiration on milions of happy worshippers, rather than that Southern Independence which builds its smaller temple on the narrow basis of the RIGHTS OF PROPERTY, crowds the cells and gangways with the victims of a ruthless persecution for opinion's sake, guards its outer walls with free men made conscript vandals against their will by a miserable edict of a despotic power, revels in the smouldering ruins of the estates of its friends, and looks with marked respect and favor on the robes

and trappings of royalty and rank.

Petry deceits and humbugs were as numerous as the wants of each locality required; they may be properly mentioned without comment, and then permitted to descend into the sewer fro which they sprang and to which they rightfully belong. Honest people were told if they voted down the ordinance grain-growers and stock-raisers would lose the Southern market; merchants would have to pay their Northern indebtedness in current funds, and they would have in turn current funds from debtors; mechanics would lose the monopoly in their trades, and have greater competition in Yankee workmen; learned professors would lose their incomes, and classic balls and retired dormitories go to the moles and bats; preachers and laymen would be deprived of a part of the profits of a religious newspaper, or some other little pions machine for making money, and the opponents of the measure would be voting to put halters around the neeks of the volunteers, and would bring on themselves and children a cloud of infamy, as did the tories in the days of the Revolution.

Having, by these means, and others equally unfounded, deloded confiding and overawed timid Union men into the belief that the Government was already broken up, and the alleged grievances and threatened outrages were sufficient to excuse secession and revolution, one other thing had to be done to complete the direful work of the conspirators. It was: an herculean task, but they had master workmen among them. The people must be satisfied that success would crown their arms and cancel the guilt and crime of the rebellion. It could not be easily shown how a people, numbering only six or seven millions, poorly armed and equipped, little used, comparatively, to hard labor, much divided in sentiment with three millions or more of slaves to watch and take care of, having no manufactories, no navy, without ample supply of provisious in time of peace, and under the control of a Government with little credit at home, and none abroad, could whip twenty millions or more, armed, equipped and provisioned in the hest style, wonderfully united on the prosecution of the war, entired by elimate and labor to the severest hardships, with the regular army and navy of a great Government, whose resources and credit were almost boundless. But falsehood and deception have achieved wonders in every age, why could they not in this instance? Demagogues and had men have deceived and misled the people in every free Government, why could they not do

so in this country? It was asserted that the North was divided in sentiment on the justness of the war-the South had many friends and sympathizers among the Democrats and Bell men in high places-a powerful minority would soon hang, like dead weights on the movements of the President and his Cabinet, and, in due time, a great peace-party would spring up and demand the recognition of the Southern Government. Where have you seen any division of sentiment on the presecution of the war until the Constitution and the Union are restored, except among the Abelition leaders and the Abolition presses !-Where has there been the least faltering in furnishing men and money? No sooner had the telegrapic wires announced the fall of Fort Sumler, and the President had summoned the loyal men of the country to come to the defence of the Capitol and public property, than a vast army arose, like the highland band of Roderick Dhu, from hill and valley, city and town, armed for the condict; and each successive demand for troops has been so promptly and fully complied with that the greatest powers in Europe are appalled at the political vigor and unilitary strength of the Federal Government. No people have ever displayed on important occasions or emegencies in their

history, greater unanimity or greater enthusiasm, for whether defeat or victory has attended their arms in this or that battle, it alike nerved their soldiery with to be in doubt that peace will not come but with the maintenance of the Consti-

this marked disparity in numbers. It was deemed quite a moderate estimate that one Southern man could whip five Yankees or Northern men; and it was neither elever nor loyal in any gentleman of Southern birth to controvert or doubt its truth. Noble young men flocked to the rebel standard under the belief that the war would be a holiday of frolic and fon and fathers and mothers cheerfully gave up their sons and in many instances, virtually coerced them into the service, expecting their speedy return with honor and fame cheaply won, Sad and fatal delusion! The heliday has turned out to be a carnival of blood and death, and the weeds of mourning come in the place of chaplets of laurel. Who are these men of the North, stigmatized as cowards and Hessians and what have they done memorable in the annals of the world? However it may gall the crest-ed lip and imperial brow of the Southern chivalry, they are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh; our equals in conflicts of war and our equals in the arts of They are descendants of that noble band which bled freely and bravey, in the war of the Revolution; they trace back their pedigree to the Anglo-Saxon race, that great family of nations, whose blood has watered more battlefields for the rights of man and whose genius and energy have contributed more to the march of civilization than any other race on earth; they have sprang from the memorable line of enthusiasts, which has given to human liberty the names and memories of a Sidney, a Hampden, a Warren, and a Hayne, and to Protestant Christianity its brightest examples of martyrdom; and they who think that these men, any more than the same great race in the South, are timid cowards and poltroons, mistake the rich heritage of the blood that runs in their veins and forget the brave deeds that made their ancestors illustrious in the pages of history. Who will say that they have not maintained the presout war for the preservation of Coustitutional Liberty, the honor and renown of the race, and more than vindicated their rightful inheritance of the classic glories of Lexington and Bunker They have suffered several humilitating defeats, but they have gained many brilliant victories; they have exhibited instances of individual cowardice and wid spread panic, but they have given to the glory and renown of arms, many heroic names and battle-fields of unflinching courage and coolness; the victories of Pea Ridge, Roanoke Island and Fort Donelson, countervail the disastrous defeats of Ball's Bluff, Oak Hitl and Bull Run; and the stream of blood that crimson the hills and plains of Shiloh and the wails of death that come from the valley of the Chickahominy, fail with crushing weight on the traitorous leaders and their false aspersions of Northern courage. Give to the South the same unanimity and enthusiasm of sentiment and purpose, give her the same arms and equipments, an equal navy, and equal resources, and, above all, give her the old national airs and the old flag of the Union to cheer her brave sons and point them in the right way, and the bril-

> The stereotyped remark that Cotton was King, was the grandest cheat, the ublimest humbug in this branch of the scheme of delusion and fraud. Cotton was the Aladdin's lamp that would convert everything it touched into ingots of gold and precious metals; it was the lever of Archmides with the fulcrum that the great philosopher sighed for but never found, with which the world could be turned backwards and forwards at pleasure. It was to render Confederate bonds and notes equal to gold and silver, to clothe, feed and equip in fine style the whole army, to break the blockade and keep open the Southern ports, to starve the Government of the United States into terms satisfactory to the Confederate States, to force from England and France a speedy recognition of the rebel dynasty, and, if need be, to bring over, in due ime, the navies and armies of Queen Victoria and Emperor Napoleon, and afthe war should be over and commerce and trade opened with the North and other foreign countries, it was to pour swellen and overflowing streams of the precious metals into every nook and corer of the Southern Confederacy. Prime Ministers of his Fibrous Majesty were not content with these encomiams on the dignity and power of their mas-He regulated the commerce and adnated the balances of trade between all nations; he provided food and raiment for the laboring millions of the world; he employed and kept busy the merchant

liant pages of Grecian and Roman valor

would not surpass her deeds and achieve-

ments.

marine of all commercial countries; he prepared the way for the foot-prints of schoolmaster and the steady strides of civilization; he graded the road and laid down the track into distant lands of pagan and heathenish barbarism for the purning wheels of the Sian of God, and though last, not least, he conferred on trains of weeping mothers, widows, sissome few of the first families in his kingdom the imperial brow and majestic strat of nobility. Wonderful kingl Fortonate and happy subjects! It is crosl indeed, to disrobe the king and unde-ceive the subject, but truth, like Ithoriel's spear of celestial temper, must unmask the wicked chest and humbug. What cutton may be, in times of peace, and beyond doubt is an article of prime necessity and immense value, it is no king in a war between the Federal Union and an armed rebeilien of its deluded aubjects. Aucient kingdoms rose, flourished and fell in ignorance of this greatstaple; our revolutionary fathers fought

through a long and successful war without its assistance, and if its cultivation were suppressed to-morrow, the sun would perform its regular circuit in the fresh courage and sent a new thrill of heavens, the solid globe turn on its axis patriotic arder through their own hearts; as usual, and earth's babbling millions and it is now too well settled for any one find bread and raiment. What single one of the vaunted promises has cotton redeemed? Confederate notes and bonds tution in its supremacy, and the restora- have to be forced into circulation by miltion of the Union to its former integrity. Itary edicts, the army is badly clothed,
But the superior valor of Southern half fed, and poorly armed; the blockade
men more than counterbalanced, in the is effectual; the Union has still ample opinions of the leaders and conspirators, means, with unlimited credit; the swellen streams of gold and silver are turned into floods of spurious bank notes; Emperor Napoleon would deeply regret, in view of the equilibrium of great powers, the dismemberment of the Union and peace and prosperity of their people to hausted rebellion. Indignant wrath and revenge have entered the besom of the rebel dynasty and individual fortunes must perish, and wanton distress be visited on hitherto prosperous and happy homes, because for sooth, Queens and Emperors will not bow down and worship the cotton king. President Davis and his rebel Congress have applied the torch to the palace of the imaginary king; and so the cotton cheat and humbug, the greatest among its tribe, vanishes, literally, into thin smoke and air, leaving its dupes to gaze in vacant, wonder on the ridicu-

lous delusion Such were the means in the hands of demagogues and designing men by which the loyalty and patriotism of Tennessee were overcome, and her people deceived and misled into rebellion. Ambitious politicians, influential judges, preachers of every persuasion, editors of religious and secular newspapers, party backs and political fossiles of all faiths, were cofraud. Who does not remember with a and burning crops, present a landscape sense of horror the whirlwind of folly, of diversed ruin for an artist whose gedelusion and madness, which the "spec- nius delights in pictures of mingled kled and piebald conclave" of dangerous smoke and flame. Its terrible effects are men aroused in the country, bearing seen and felt it the various relations and to indulge in liberty of thought; it was servered long cherised friendships, undevotion to the Union was high treason against the Confederate States; reverence for the old stars and stripes was downright toryism, and a kind word for the free institutions of our revolutionary fathers was open and definnt antagonism to the higher civilization of the new Re-public. Disunion struck deep its roots and spread wide its branches, and the effluvia, distilled from its rank foliage, maddened the brain and poisoned the pure waters of the heart. Loyal conservative newspapers were excluded from the public eye-inflammatory Abolition sheets allowed unlimited circulationour own political press manzled or placed under a despotie espionage-free discussion on the stump met and frowned down by vindictive denunciation and threats of violence-menaces of death, or some persanal injury, whispered in the ears of timid and non-complying voters-

hte tickets of Union men threatened with marks as indelible as the spot on the brow of Cain, and in some places the business of voting placed under the control of bayonets. Does some inquirer ask how came this furor of madness and fol-Tell us first how Peter the Hermit shook Europe to its centre with the phantom idea of redeeming the sepulchre of Christ; how the South-Sea bubble intoxicated all England, from the palace to the cottage, with dreams of untold weelth, or how the Laughing Dance spread its disgusting follies over every neighborhood in which it made its appearance. And in this state of the pubic mind, Tennessee was wrenched from her honorable position in the Union according to the theory of secession, and her confiding and generous people, with all they held dear and valuable, were committed to the impeluous winds and waves of revolution and civil war.
The country has been engaged in this unnatural war something over one year, and you cannot turn the eye in any direc tion that it does not meet sad memories of its presence. At quite an early period,

the arch conspirators in the Gulf States uttered the warning, that if war followed secession, and they knew it would, its seat would be transferred and confined to the border States, and they have been sometime, and are now engaged in the pleus work of invoking high Heaven to shield them and their States from its direct ravages and hardships by visiting the Union armies with the fatal materia and epidemics of the climate. Truly, Virginia, Missouri, Tennessee and Kentucky present in every walk, avocation and pursuit of life, and in the face of the country, shocking evidences of the fulfilment of the d abolical prophecy; and the blood-spots on the hitherto stainless robes of these brave and noble States, more numerous than the guilty drops on the hand and dagger of the murderous Macboth, will not out at the sanctimonious bidding of the Lady Macbeths of the Ah! the ambitious parricides in times. the bloody tragedy now being enacted on the grandest theatre of the world, have more cause, as the mangled bodies of fathers, brothers and sons, with long ters and orphans, pass in multitudinous numbers before their seared eye-balls, to cry out with chattering teeth.

Then a p'st not say det did it dever ababe

than did devilish Macbeth when the ghost of murdered Banquo rose from the eath and pushed him from his banquet

This civil war has taken a broad and deep range through our political, religious, civil and social institutions, and its track can be as easily traced as the avalanche down the side of the mountain, or the hurricane in the deuse forest. It has overturned or suspended the adminis-

tration of civil and criminal law, turning ing to the Christian world the melancholy spectacle of ministers, who heretofore fervor for peace and good will among men, converting their sacred pulpits into restrums from which flow flery tides of dethe destruction of its rising navy, and nunciation, sedition and war to the death, Queen Victoria would be glad to see the | and of churches, which had been chosen institution of slavery destroyed and the and bright lights of Christian charity main growth of cotton transferred to her a and brotherly love, vieing with each other India possessions, neither one of them | us to which could dip deepest its pure having the remotest idea of linking the white robe in the innocent blood of a peace and prosperity of their people to wicked rebellion, or could furnish the the sinking fortunes of an almost ex- largest number of Generals Colonels and Captains to lead brother against brother

on fields of blood and carnage. It has flooded the country with a spurious paper currency of untold millions with no pretence of a specie basis; it has blockaded the channels of internal and foreign trade and commerce; it has brought on the States and the citizens a heavy indebtedness without ample or available means of payment; it has prostrated public and private credit; it has closed the doors of the work-shops and broken up the business of merchants and small dealers; and it threatens, in its ramifications through all grades of in-dustrial energy and, life, indiscriminate want and wide-spread bankruptey. Why, sirs traverse the navigable rivers, public highways and the deviens line of Southern coast, and tenantless houses, deserted homes and plantations, uncultivated and blighted farms, ruined walks and groves descried cities and villages, smouldering dwellings, charred bridges, consumed laborers in the work of deception and railway stations, wrecks of watercrafts, down all opposition, and overturning diversified phases of society. It has the sturdiest loyalty? It was criminal | destroyed confidence between neighbors, expulsion from the country, and in some | bridled silly and venomous tongues, bosoms envy, malice and hatred; impaired to a woful extent public and private morals ; divided families into vindictive foes, put old friends to gra-ping or each others throats, installed a regular system of exageration and lying, sanctioned the breaking of solemn oaths, familized the public mind with the pillage and plunder of marauders; in a word, it has converted the domestic and social circles into continuous and deplo oble rounds of bitter feuds, implacable animosities, and now and then secret assassinations, with little desire or effort in man or woman to change or modify

Visit its hospitals, its camps and its

of death, its heaps of slain, and its hud-

dled crowds of the sick, wounded and dying, and trace back their effects on once happy families and circles of friends and elatives. The armles of fraternal blood, now made hostile by designing men, are ready and panting for the conflict; they are armed after inventive genius and indomitable energy have exhausted their utmost ingenuity and skill to discover the most destructive weapons; the longranged artillery plays its deep furroughs through the advancing columns; the light arms drop the dead, like leaves in autumn, thick and fast on the ground; the bayonet charge closes the massive lines. and for a few moments of horrible carnage and suspense, death grapples with death, kindred blood grapples with kindred blood, then the rout and pursuitneighbor pursuing neighbor, friend pur-sning friend, brother pursuing brother, with the shouts and murderous blows of victors of the field. The Massachusetts Puritan and the South Carolina Cavalier meet, hilt to hilt, in deadly conflict, they fall to the earth locked in each other's arms, they become friends in the honest | til all life, all spirit, all vitality, will be hour of death, their heart's blood ebbs and flows out into one common stream, their bodies fill one common grave, and their disembodied spirits ascend through the air, side by side, to the bosom o Almighty God. Scarcely have the maddenned mass sank into silence under the dust and smoke and exhaustion of the day, when mothers and sisters, wives and daughters, are seen flitting to and fro among the living and the dead, and the shouts of joy over loved ones found, and the wails of serrow over loved ones slalo, any great captain, or combination of mingle in hidoons harmony with the grouns of the dying and the songs of the rictors. The quickened beats of the telegraph convey to distant homes and friends the casualties and losses of the us no more. This victorious army has day, and joy and grief, like light and complete control of the entire Southern loud, follow on the heels of each pulsation, the light and joy perhaps to be swept away when the trembling wires has substantially captured the great cease to feel the shock of the battle. Venrable fathers bow their heads under a heavy weight of affliction; doaring mothers fook to the evening of life with no ing the rebellion into two parts, and ray of comfort on this side of the grave; affectionate wives find relief from overburthened hearts in paroxisms of insanity; gentle sisters permit no one to take place of a buried brother in their aching bosoms; homeless orphans fill the streets and highways with their tears of their brave and promising young men. Standing this day amid the broken hearts, wrecked hopes and wide-spread ruin of the rebellion, and looking to the long train of woos and evils that are to follow, who does not feel like uttering from the depths of his soul the burning words of

to the great day of resignations that the tricks. And the permitants opening, who, for would, for prover, the perits of greatness, or sevenage, would plump be natural and in each wars.

the post,

These, are the ripened fruits of secloose crime without check, tarnishing the | tional agitation, the poisoned waters from ermine and imparing the influence of the | the fountains of secession and disunjon, Bench. It has broken up the land- the distress and desolation of groundless marks of old parties, divided the people rebellion, the distinctive ravages and into new organizations of antagonistic wors of civil war. Place them in one and dangerous elements, and swept into a scale and your grievances and wrongs common abyes the cherished intellects under the Union in the other, and which and jewels of the Commonwealth. It will outweigh? Bring before the mind has taken possession bodily of the church | the functional blood and precious lives lost and clergy, with now and then an excep- in this war, and the leaders and their tion, and driven them heedlessly on the | counsels that brought it on the country, broad road towards destruction, present- and which will command the highest respect and veneration? But who can foretell what unknown calamities and unplead with burning eloquence and holy | speakable horrors, a continuance of the war may add to the cups whose bitter contents we have drained to the dregs. The fell spirit of abolitionism, Fales, dereiblid,

full-is, in distings, remarking of avery six

has appeared in open day in the halls of Congress; it has taken fresh courage by the absence of the Southern States from their appropriate places, it has gloated over and been invigorated by the blood and carnage of the rebellion; it has planted its unhallowed feet on all the debatable ground of the Constitution, and, considering the probable influence of a persistent and stubborn continuance of the war, the increased madness of the South, and a consequent madness on the part of the North, may entail upon the country the terrific horror of servile insurrections and servile war. Let us hope that the seal of this book will not be broken, let us pray that this last vial of unmingled evil will not be empted on our bearthstones and family alters; let us all unite, heart and hand, to rescue the Constitution from the remorseless clutches of Abolitionism, and the Union from the jaws of an unnatural rebellion. Why continue the conflict and endanger still more the institution of slavery? Why sacrifice more men and money on the altars of the idol of fire-eaters and disunionists? Why resist longer the overwhelming armies of the Federal Government, or attempt to delay the certain doom of the rebellion? Who is so blind to the signs of the hour that he cannot see the word "failure" written on every fold of the rebel flag? who is so deaf to the thunders of the Union arms that he cannot hear the shouts of victory along the entire line of the two armies; and who is so dead to the impulses of a lofty and disinterested patriotism, that he localities death, to exercise the freedom of speech. Respect for the Federal Con- without effective restraint, the most vi- and joy at the prospects of saving the stitution was disloyalty to the South; cious passions, generated innumerable Constitution and restoring the Union? The phuntom of a Southern Confederace has had its day of delusion and blood; it has beguiled and misled thousands of good and honest men into ruin; it will soon be a frightful dream of the past, and many of those who now look upon the departure of the phantom as a sad stormy sea of revolution and civil war disaster, will regard it in years to come as a great and abiding blessing. The God of nature has so cut the channels of our great rivers, and piled up our lefty mountains, that two rival and hostile republics could not exist long in this country, and yet preserve the true spirit of free Government. The two sections are so connected with and dependent upon each other, that no treaty could establish permanent peace between the people of hundred battle-fields; behold its engines the two Governments. Border wars would devastate each side of the dividing line; large standing armies would become matters of absolute necessity, heavy taxes and permanent conscription laws would soon impoverish and subdue the people, and, in some popular comme tion, a Casar or a Napoleon in ambition,

would spring up and put himself at the

hend of the army, and, a military despo-

tism would be erected on the ruins of

free Government. Such would be the

inevitable destiny of the Southern Con-

federacy, even if neace was preserved

between it and the Northern Government,

for it carries in its bosom the seeds of anarchy and of its own destruction. But we need not dwell on the dire calamities and consequences which would follow a permanent disruption and division of our great and hitherto happy country. Few there are outside the rebel army who think that the rebellion can much longer survive the powerful and deadly blows which have been for mouths past and are now being given to it. It is recling and tottering, like a drunken man, to its fall, and it cannot be very long unextinct in its brused and mangled body. The large Union army, with the aid of the war vessels and gunboats, has completed the circle of fire and sword around the very heart of the rebellion; it is daily and hourly contracting and narrowing the lines, and soon the roar of artillery and the deep notes of victory at any point will be heard around the whole circle. Harely in the history of military campaigns, has such an almost unbroken series of victories crowned the march of great leaders, as has attended the Union army on land and water since the bloody battle of Mill Spring, where many brave Tennessecans fell to rise and mingle with coasts, blocksding the ports and holding the most important towns and cities; it Father of Waters, and flotillas and gunboats now plow its turbid and boiling ing the rebellion into two parts, and opening up this great channel of commerce and trade to the whole valley of the Mississippi; and Halleck, Buel, Morgan, Pope and McClellan are moving southward with their triumphant columns, and at the same time and in concert, columns are coming noathward from the coast sorrow and their cries for bread, and line. If it he wise and proper to judge commonwealths are clothed in sackcloth | the future by the events of the past and doubt but that the rebellion will be ernshed, bone and muscle, in body and spirit, between those penderous weights. t may be that heavy disasters will befull the advancing columns; it may be that | day remind you that our free institutions. thousands of brave soldiers will pour out their life's bloodson hard fought, yet unfortunate fields; it may be that the circle of fire and sword will be broken at generation, greatly enhanced in value and

as from the sown teeth of the Dragon, only signalized with other, hecatombs of priceless victims, and the restoration of precions blood.

Our illustrious ancestors indulged the

fond hope that the noble Government they wrought out for themselves and their remotest descendants, would at all times have the power and ability to defend and protect itself against overthrow; but they had not formed, in their brightest visions of its future grandeur and greatness, any just conception of the political power and military strength which it has displayed in this fearful crisis. We were ignorant of them ourselves, our best informed them, and the powers of Europe greatly underrated them. Being oblivious for the time to the sad cause which called them into action, who can contemplate the inexhaustilue resources, the immense army and the invincible navy of the Federal Government, and not cherish emotions of pride, wonder and admiration. Who can transport himself back to the origin of our free institutions and behold the little rivalet now swollen into an irresistible torrent, dashing down mountain sides and along ravines, carrying everything before it, the twinkling star now grown to be the full-orbed planet, rolling onward and upward, its ponderous weight of light, the grandest and greatest among the luminaries in the firmament, and not feel his soul kindling into rapture at the thought that this great people are my brethren, and this great country is my inheritance. When the war shall have been terminated and the States reunited in the bonds of a harmonious Union, what a magnificent work will have been accomplished. The foundation of our liberties will be widened and deepened, the bonds of the Union strengthened and made more in dissoluble, the national flag rescued from the dust and elevated to the zenith of dignity and honor, our name and renown in arms, on land and sea, become in a pre-eminent degree the wonder and terror of the decaying dynastics of the Old World, our example of self-government made forever the fixed star of hope in the van of the lovers of freedom. and unnumbered centuries of united and happy celebrations of this day added to those which have already passed.

Where do we flud on this day, our own loved State, and what part will she take in this great work? In an hour o folly and delusion Tennessee was driver by adverse winds from her anchorage in a peaceful and secure harbor, and for near twelve long months she buffetted the under the guidance of an unfaithful and treacherous helmsman. Many of her crew died from disease, or were slain in battle, her precious cargo was scattered far and wide on the angry waves, and the noble little vessel itself carried into the eddying circle of the whirlpool; and, in this condition, her helmsman ingloriously abandoned the deck, leaving crow, cargo and all to extricate themselves, or go down into the bottomless abvas. But, thanks be to stronger arms and better councils! We find her people this day rescued from the imminent peril, and struggling to get back into the old harbor in hope of preventing further destruction of property and further effusion of blood, and who does not see that this would be speedily accomplished, but for prominent and disloyal men, who mislead them into revolt and civil war, and still oppose

their return to the Union. DISLOVAL MES OF TENNESSEE: Will you, in view of the groundless causes, enormous evils, and hopeless prospects, still arge the further prosecution of the war for the ends and purposes of ambitious and selfish leaders? How many more lives must be lost, and how much more blood be shed before you will be ready to cry "hold, enough?" How many more How many more right stars of genius and promis must be blotted out of our brilliant galaxy before the wild Utopian dream of a Southern Confederacy will cease to bewilder your heads and hearts? Are brave and generous Tennesseeans to remain much longer under an odious and despotic conscription law, as a living wall of defence around the political and military leaders of the rebellion? Have you not already enough innocent blood on the skirts of your garments, to make your pillow anything but one of peace and repose? I'mder these solemn and appropriate ques-tions and answer them wisely to your own sense of duty. It is not my purpose to inquire on this occasion what you may have done to embark our beloved State in the revolution and fratricidal war, nor whether you were the authors or victims of delusion and deception, but to and sone to the peace and safety of quiimplore you, whether the one or the other, et, happy homes to make this day memorable in your lives by returning to your loyalty and to your whole country. Few there are in this part of the State who were not overwhelmed or prostrated by the fury of the popular storm, and fewer still who stood | clad bills of Major or the golden streams firm and erect, like the stordy oak, with of California, whether you favor the same no weather-beaten side to indicate the direction of the current. You must know that the storm has passed away never to return again in all human probability, and you must admit that ample time has has been given to remove all prejudice or delusion, and to aliay all passion; and if you still persist in your course of disloyalty and revolt, no forenight can tell what moment you may be crushed beneath the wheels of an incensed and outraged Government, or trampled in the dust by the counter revolution of an undeceived, bereaved and enraged people. Boware how you longer dally with the clemand ashes over the frightful havee among the reliable signs of the present, who can ency and forbearance of the Government, and how you presume longer to revile the time-honored flag of the country! PRIESOS AND LOVERS OF THE UNION

Let the impressive recollections of the were purchased at the sacrifice of much precious blood and treasure; that they spring up from the grayes of the slain, and glories; and that millions of yet un- system of self-government; that the plots

born infants, with open mouths and uptwo armed men for one to fill the vacant | lifted hands, will be seech us to hand places, the circle will be speedily re- them down unimpaired to their day and united, and the doom of the rebellion, generation. In achieving them, our fathers foiled and bled through seven years of triompha and reverses, of long marchthe Union, with additional baptisms of es and wearisomeretreass, under burning suns and over french ground; and will you falter in the work of preserving and transmitting them to your posterity because the arrows of calumny and abuso, dipped in the gall and malevelence of

blighted ambition and humbled pride, fall thick and fast along your pathway? They dared the haughty frowns of princes and nobles; can you not endure the silly insolence of petty traitors and rebels? They faced the rattle of British musketry; can you not despise with complacent scorn the harmless venom of disloyal tongues? They quailed not at statesmen did not fully comprehend the mouth of the cannon; and will you fear the paper bullets of a prostituted press wrapt in smoke? Gird up your strength, shake from your limbs the fetters of doubt and fear, look steadfastly to the end, and come bravely and manfully up to the great work. The profound wors and sorrows of this bloody and usuless war will soon bring a time of ealm reflection and thought, of painful regrets for the past and hopeful visions for the future, and when that day comes, the eb-ulition of bitterness and strife must and will subside. The time has been, and will come again, when you and your deluded countrymen will alike look to the Federal Government, with its veteran army and gigantionavy, as the surest wall of defence against the ravages of civil and foreign wars; to the Constitution as the only broad and firm basis of the American. system of self-government; to the Union as the smitten rock from which gush up the living fountains of national and individual prosperity and happiness, and will together follow the Stars and Stripes, as did the Israel of God the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night, to higher and nobler developments of American Liberty and Civilization. We have much to cheer drooping hopes, inspire trembling hearts, and nerve feeble arms in the bright dawn of light that skirts the horizon, and promises a cloud-less day of hope, and peace, and joy. Let the noble barque, which our ancestors launched this day eighty-six years ago, and freighted with a cargo more precious than priceloss gems and jewels, out pass unburt this strife, this shock, this fearful reef, this last rock of danger, and a boundloss ocean of deep and quiet waters will spread out before its waft it on; and one and all, from hilltop and valley, hamlet and city, will units as in happier days, in one deep, grand shout to the old voyager-

Call on, nor bur to brook. The test. One he stores our hope, one practice, our bur a, the large stringplant of or our face. A cost with they, are all with those.

LADIES: The array of bright eyes and sad faces, which overhang this vast assemblage, like supshine and cloud, betokens that the angel of death has let fly a shaft here and there in your midst. If you have tempted or dared this sad trial of his archery, blame not the archer if the shaft has fallen at your door, and the cloud gathered over your household. The excessive zeal and persistent ferror of many Southern ladies, will be the most inexplicable mystery of the Rebellion in future times. What just ground or reason have they for falling out with it, or breaking up the Federal Government? In no other country has woman attained equal dignity and influence; in no other government has her wants and comforts been so carefully provided for and protected. Woman was not fashished in her sweetness of voice, her gentleness and purity of heart, refinement of intellect and exquisiteness of person to sound the war-cry, to bid brothers shed each other's blood, to plot treason and rebellion, or to dare the perils or mingle in the havor of battle. Ladies, you can do much towards prolonging the war and increasing the panes of private grief; but you can do more to stay its bloody tide and soften its bitter surrows. Other shafts will be speeded to the fatal mark, and other clouds will come gathering and rest over your city. Dutiful daughter, that voncrable form which you loved and revered from the cradle, may pass away never to return; affectionate wife, that strong arm of manliness and noble bearing or which you have hung during the happiest hours of life, may fall and leave you without hope; kind mother, the easiet of cherished family jawels may be bro-hen open, and the brightest gem of the group be dashed in pieces. Let me beaccell you in the came of Christian humanity to rise up in your strength and assist us, in stopping the unnatural war, and bring back your fathers, husbands

SOLDERS OF THE UNION ARMY: You are welcome, thrive wilcome, in this spacious hall on this National Bushday. Whether you come from the one State or another, whether you dwell on the snewor different local institutions, we are fellow-countrymen of the same great Repulslie, speaking one language, professing one christianity, and bound together in the bonds of perpetual Union under the same Sational Constitution, with one honored Rag floating over us, and one grand destiny awaiting us. This is your day; this is our day, it is the birth-right inheritance of all true American freemen, and wherever it is celebrated, they are welcome,

Mr. Mayor and Gustermen of the Cety Consernt You have, in the appointment of this celebration, as well as in a more unmistakable manner, illustrated your reverence for the noble founders of our free instations, your loyalty to the Federal Constitution, and your devotion to the Union of the States. We agree in the abiding conviction that the memories of the honored dead in your occustories are have been transmitted to us by a previous of this day; that the solid foundation of your beautiful City of Rocks are not some unguarded point; but there will consecrated with additional memories broader or firmer than the hasis of our